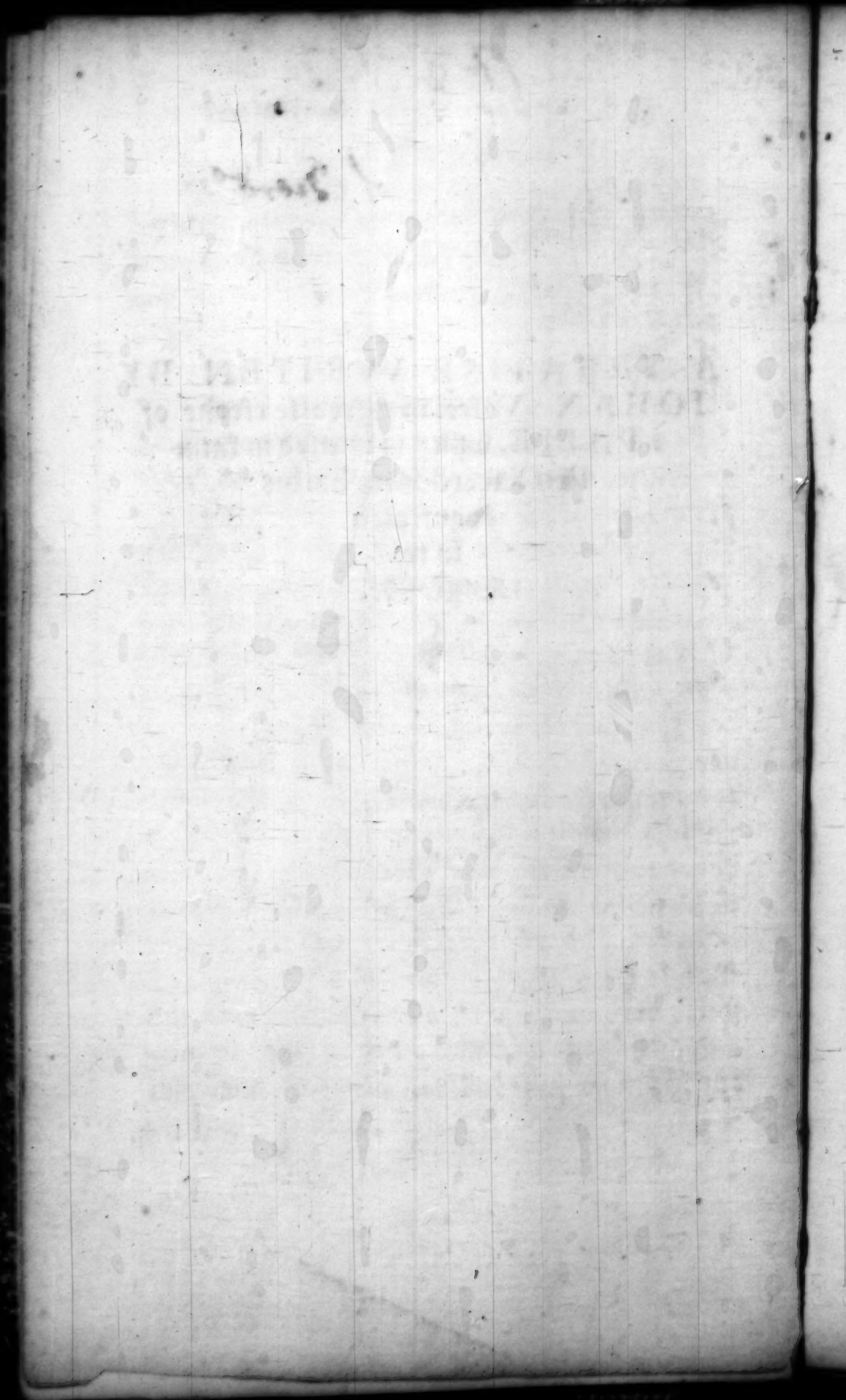


B 2 M

A Definer of Beards

A TREATISE VVRITEN BY
IOHAN Valerian a greatte clerke of
ITALIE, which is intitlled in Latin
Pro Sacerdotum barbis p. W.
translated
in to
Englyshe.





The pze face of the tranſlatour
to the reder.



It is not vnknownen, gentyll
reder, that here in Englande
hath bene dyuers tymes bus-
synes for werynge of bea-
des, so that (as it appereth)
in no realme they haue bene
lesse accepted. Also we maye perceyue, that
in Italie, all though theye be varpe farre
from ours (for Maunynge is as lyttell vsed
there as bearded be here) yet hath there ben
greate variance for the same cause, & name-
ly amonge the clergie. Wherupon a lerned mā
of that countrey, called Ihoñ Pierius Vale-
rian, wrote a pistell to the Cardinall Medis-
ces for the defence of priestis bearded: whiche
I haue translated into oure Englyshe
tonge, partly for the cause afoze named, and
partely bicause I haue ever vsed to weare a
bearde, and haue ben many tymes challen-
ged and rebuked for the same. And here it
is to be noted, that if it be proued no vnnete
thyng for a priest to weare a bearde, who
shuld both in apparell and dedes shewe a sad
and an honeste exampyle, it may seme so mo-
che the more sufferable in a laye manne. But

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peradventure I myght be iudged of somme men to be a very presumptuous persone, by cause that I haunge but lyttelle lernynge, wolde take vpon me to translate. Howe be it, when I sawe it was no great weighty matter, it made me so moche the more bolde to procede, in folowynge myn intent.

Furthermoze where as I haue founde my copy in many places very tedious, by plentiousnes of wordes, I haue in my translation vsed a shorter way, gatherynge to gether the effecte of the matter, as I thought most mete for my purpose.

Moze ouer yf I haue in any place varied farre from the true menyng of the sentence: I do submytte my selfe to them that be better lerned, despyng them to holde me excused, and to accompt it as an vnlearned

mannes acte. But shortly to conclude, yf those that shall rede this lytell booke, do wey the matter indifferently,

I truste they

shall

fynde it proued by good reason, that verbes ar nat so gretly to be dyspreised, but rather to be vsed & woꝛne.

C Josu Pierius Valerian to the most
reuerende father, the Cardinall
Medices.



H Bycause moſte reuerende
father, there be dyuers, not
of ſmall auctoritie, goo a-
boute to tempt the pope (ha-
uynge no regard to his ſyck-
nes, wherewith he is nowe
greuouſly vexed) to bypnyng up ageyne a lawe
of a certayne counſeyle concernyng beardes,
ſtrengthened and renewed (as they ſay) by A-
lexander the thyrde, whiche befoze our tyme
a fewe yeres, hath bene kepte, and by our
dayes, I thynke worthily leſte. Therfoze
ye haue warned vs all, that lyue vnder your
dominion, to begynne to haue our beardes,
befoze this commaundement be put forth:
and ſo we ſhall bothe be exaumples to other,
and alſo do that wyllingly, that elles we
ſhulde be compelled to doo by a lawe. The
whiche thynge we are redye to obeye, onely
moued by your auctoritie and iudgemente,
without conſtraynyng of any lawe. Howe
be it there be many wyſe, counnyng, ye and
alſo vertuous men, that allowe nat greatly
this matter, and thynke by this meanes the

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Wane their beardes for humilitie in dispyssing
of apparell, that they myght be disfigured,
and hadde in derision amonge the people, the
whiche peradventure we graunt in shearynge
of the heare aboute the eares : but there is
not one man, that dothe well consyder, wold
indge humilitie in takynge so moche care for
smothernes of the mouthe. For truly Waryng
of the chynne and all the face, beganne of a
wycked and a delycate mynde : and they that
often vse it, are inged without doubte, to be
of the feminine sorte, though they haue ma-
nye other good qualities and excellent ver-
tues. I myght reherse here for my purpose
exaumples innumerable of all the aunciente
men, bothe of grekes and hebrewes : but bi-
cause we be Romayns, and it is the Romaine
churche, that we are now in hande withal,
it shall nat varie farre from our matter, yf
before we speake of thynges doone in oure
tyme, we fyrst reherse the dedes of our fore-
fathers. Wherfore nowe lette vs see, howe
the Romayns in tyme past esteemed beardes.
They truly lyke manly menne, were longe
ere they wold suffre any barbour amongst
theym, and for that cause the auncientis of
them amonge wyfters were called for the
moste parte, the Enghauen men.

Of

Of truthe the .5 + 4. yere after the buyl-
 dyng of Rome, the vse of barbours was
 founde: & them P. Ticinius Mena brought
 out of Sicilia, if we mowe beleue Varro:
 And Plini also beareth wytnes, befoze that
 tyme they lyued in Baen, and spake of all
 men, Apphicanus used to be Baen dapely:
 whom Augustus Octavianus folowed very
 diligently. And truly Scipio was euer cal-
 led a softe and a feminate fellow, so that his
 delicate facion and strange apparell, neyther
 after the maner of the Romaynes, nor yet
 ware lyke, and also his great slouth, is spo-
 ken of to this daye: In so moch that in that
 same busynes, whiche was of greatte and
 as weighty as euer the Romaynes had any,
 I meane when they wente aboute to distrope
 Carthage, for the restorpyng of the libertie
 of Italie, and safegarde of them selfe, and
 the honour of theyr name: he was complei-
 ned of euen in the towne of Rome, nat priue-
 ly but openly in the Senate howse, bycause
 whyles he ruled, the exercysyng of the fea-
 tes of warre were forslowd.

Therfoze I say, go ye to, folow ye the exa-
 ples of the Sicilians, folow ye also the strage
 apparelle, the delicacie and prodigalitye of
 the Syracusans, dampned by the many folde

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proverbes of auncient men, and admytte ye be not dastardes and cowardes, but stronge, excellent, and triumphant, yet by that meanes ye minyshe a great parte of your glory.

But what shall I speke now of Augustus? He without doubt was neuer so moche suspected to be of a femynate mynde, by the bandy Versis that he wrote in the Baynes, as by the often vse of Shauing.

But leest I shulde bring in many examples in so euident a matter, in conclusion, all puttyng away of beare hath ben esteemed, at all tymes, and by the consent of all people, to be as it were a certayne womannyshe thyng. By that it came vpp, that certayne nations wold haue theyr beardes when they mourned (in the token of sorowe) that they might bewayle theyr wretchednes with a womannyshe facion, bycause they thought, it agreed not to mourne with a manlye bearde. And truly the Romans did esteeme their beards of so gret honor, that they wold neuer picture Iupiter, their god, without a bearde.

Of how moch auctoritie & grauitie beards causid the anciētis of the toun of Rome to be it apperith plainly by this that folowith: when Rome was taken of the Senons, & their enemies were entred, euery one of the faders sitting

ting at his dooze, with that beardedly dignitie,
 brought their ennemies (al though they were
 right cruell) in suche admiration, that they
 thoughte every citizen, that they sawe so syt,
 had bene a god. Tyll at the laste one, that
 was somewhat bolder than the other, began
 to stroke one of the senators bearded: and
 he wolde nat suffre hym, but strake hym with
 a rodde. For the whiche dede theyz cruel en-
 nemies being wroth, slewe al those ancient &
 honozable Romaynes, not leaupnge one a-
 lyue. Thus ye maye see, that they that the
 Romaynes swozde coude nat tame, were ap-
 peased by the reuerence of their berdes: And
 ageyne those Romayns rather chose to lose
 theyz lyues with theyz berdes, than to haue
 the maiestie of theyz mouthe defiled. Yet I
 wol not deny, but certayn people, ye & also of
 the noble sort, cōmāded the berd to be shauē,
 & suffred the heer of the heed to grow lōg be
 hind: the whiche thing they say, the Lacedemo-
 niās did. And Homer writeth, that the Abbā-
 tes first diuised it: & for the same cause (Pol-
 lux saith) they were callid Euboiās with the
 long heer behind. Also whē Timens descriuid
 Hector, he ppeised his goodly lōge heer, han-
 gynyng down at his back: But that thing made
 the Lacedemoniās vnlike all other nations:

And

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And also manye other fonde thynges were brought vpp by the same, farre frome the custome of other kyndes of people. The cause why that they commanded beardes to be shaven, and to nouryshe the heer longe behynd, was to the intente that they myghte be the more safe in batayle, bycause theyr ennemies shulde haue none aduantage, in takyng holde by theyr chynnes. More ouer if they dydde purpose to fle, they shuld remembre a longe boundell of heare to hange downe behynde at theyr backes, wherby theyr ennies might take theyr handes ful, and draw them backe ageyne: and so for feare of that, they shuld not intende to flee, but lyke men without other hope of remedy, boldly resist and assaile their ennemies. But when this constitution, and those that ruled in that tyme, were ones worne out and forgotten, it was neuer more after vsed.

But nowe to procede to suche thynges, as apperteyne to oure matter, I wolde verie fayne, that those delycate felowes our accusers, whiche are so extreme ageynste vs, bycause they thynke it soo moche vnsemely, that a prieste shulde weare a bearde: shulde declare to me, what fylthynges is in a berde. For truely I can fynde in it nothyng filthy

noz dishonest. But to the end it may the moze playnly appere, lette vs fyrst declare what a beard is : and so parauenture if there be any thyng in it amys, we shal perceyue it. There be many thynges, whiche are hydden in the begynnynge, that by the definition shal be moze openly known.

The bearde is a garment for manly chekes gyuen of nature for comlynes & for helthe : & therfore the latines named it a garment, and those that were shaven, they counted them as naked and vncladde. And also ye shal fynde wyrtten in manye auctours these wordes : They chekes were cladde with ponge wol- ly beare. That a bearde is a token of manly nature, the thyng selfe dothe shewe moze playne, than any man can declare.

The de-
finition of
bearde.

Diogines, whiche despised all shaven fa- cis, dyd not without a cause make this aun- swere to a barbour : that he ware his beard, to the intent he myghte euer haue in remem- brance, that he was a man. And yet to this daye, all the nations of the Easte parties, where so euer they se men with suche smothe faces, they calle them women in scozne.

Also it is had in remembrance, how Alex- ander of Macedone, a prince of great name, was scozned bothe of his subiectes and men

of

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of warre, ye and also of all nations, because he wolde be shaven, to shewe hym selfe feminine: And Athenens dothe wittenesse in Lhisippus, that he was the auctour of shavynge.

It is openly known amongst all kyndes of men, that chyliden, women, gelded men, & those that are tender and desycait, are ever sene withoute beardis: and therby it may be easily vnderstande, to whome those that are shaven, may be lykened. But lest we shulde tarie to longe in so evident a matter, lette vs passe forth to other thynges, whiche we purpose to speake.

by nature
is given
nature a
beard.
That the berde is gyven of nature for comelynes, we may see by this. Where as nature hath garnished trees with branches & leues: likewise to me for the more increasing of their dignitie, she hath apparellled them with heer: in so moche that the poetis put no difference, but plainly affirme, that men are as moche disfigured, when theyr beardis be shaven, as trees be, when their leues be falle from the.

It was nat for naught, that Haliabas, with many other excellent philosophers did write, that the berde of a man was given of nature for comelynes & dignitie. And for that cause thou shalt fynd, that every one of them, if he were

Barbis.

were but lyttell bearded, eyther on the one
lyp onely, or els vpon the verpe toppe of his
chynne, as often as he behelde hym selfe in a
glasse, or put his hand to his mouth, he wold
put great faute in nature, and bewayle hym
selfe, for beinge so made. For like as pearles
are esteemed the more precious for their gret
nes, euen so of the greatnes a bearde taketh
his ppeyse.

Artemidozus saythe, that the fathers are
woorthy to be honored, whan their chyldren
be sene with manly beades.

Furthermoze it is woorthye oure labour, to
here the opinion of Lucian, whiche thought it
as moche vnnatural to haue a mans beard,
as if thou shuldest go aboute to bere a Lyons
maane.

Thesens the disciple of Hercules, whiche
atte that tyme was mooste excellent in
strengthe, wolde neuer haue his bearde, to
the intent he myght pposesse his valpantnes
by that same mannely state. And for that
cause some men saye, he made a lawe, that
yonge men shulde haue theyr fyrst beades,
and offre theym to the goddes, as a deere
and thankefulle gyfte, thynkyng that no
thyng myghte be offered more meeter for
that age: and also he wolde dedicate that,

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as the fyrste frutes, to the feldes, & to the
god Apollo, accordynge to the superstition
of those dayes. But this is nothyng to our
purpose. But Plinie the yonger, in his tyme
dydde very moche pseyse Euphrates, an ex-
cellente Philosopher, the whiche opteyned
moche honour by his great and white beard.
For beards were so much honoured in olde
tyme, that a philosopher without a beard,
was very lytell esteemed. Howe over he that
had a beard, excepte his lynynge were ap-
proued in granitie of maners, he was yuell
reporated amonge the people, bycause his ho-
norable beard and his habite was in syghte,
and the philosopher appered nat. In so moche
that the moste aunciente and discrete men in
those dayes wolde iudge bothe wysedome
and good maners to be ioyned with a beard.

It is that
beard
iseth.

Furthermoze as concernynge the helth that
cometh by a beard, we may proue by this,
that for nourysshynge of hym selfe, it sucketh
out the abundant & grosse humours from the
cheekes, and by that meanes it preserveth the
teeth longe frome perysshynge: whiche doth
not lyghtely happen to those that are often
shaven. For they (for the mooste parte) are
other totheles longe before theyr tyme, or
els they haue very moche payne of the tothe
ache.

ache. More ouer in the hotte sommer it defendeth the face from the burnynge and parchynge of the sonne beames : and in the winter it bereth of the colde frozmes and Harpe blastis of the wynd: and it saueth a man from the quinsie, the gūme piles, & many other diseases. And to the intent we shulde gyue the more credence to these thynges, it is writte of the fabled phylosophers, that Esculapius did alway weare a berd, whan his father befoze hym, was enen Haueu. Than it is to be thought, that he, the whiche was called the auctour of helth, wold folow such thingis as pertained to helth. Therfoze seinge there be so many good qualities in a bearde, I see no suche fylthynges nor viciousnes in it, for whiche it shulde be lothed. Welle than, if suche thyngis, whiche are honourable, whiche are profitable and helthefull, and whiche are of any estimation at all, shal be indged vntworthy for a priest, I thynke it wol be harde for vs to fynde what thyng shal be mete for the priestly state. But whether shal I call these despisers of beardes vnequall or malicious, whiche are so enuiously sette ageynst vs, that all our worshyppinges, all our prayers, all our offrynges, whiche we minstre to god immortal, in conclusion all that euer we do, be

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hit neuer so pure and chaste, is vnsauerye to them, onely by the meanes of our beardes, And they allowe no pziestis, but those, whiche ageynste the sentences of most sobze and wyse men, cutte away the woꝝshipp of man-hood. In so moche that if any man deny to haue his bearde: by and by they woll suspende hym, and despyse hym lyke one that had forsaken his feyth. If truly they think where a bearde is, there can be no goodnes, no holynes, noꝝ no perfecte religion. And fyrste of all they ley ageynste vs, the power of the lawes, cryenge oute that all thyng shall fall to mischefe, if we say, that the lawes are nat to be obeyed. But without doute they knowe full well, howe moch we esteeme the lawes. Therfore they are so moche the bolder, bycause we haue euer gladly gyuen place to suche argumentes.

oure ma
er lawis

Yet fyrst let them tel me, whether they wyl allege for them the lawes of nature, or the lawes wꝛitten, or the lawes taken by the exammples of holpe menne, or elles the lawes ordeyned by the inspiration of the holy gost. I fynde that these foure haue bene kyndes of laudable luyngge, euery one in his tyme: wherby that menne mighte haue ledde their lyues, in as moche as perteyneth to dyuine

upne thynges, frome the begynnynge of the worlde hitherto, bothe with lande and pryse to them selfe, and saluation of their soules. Then if they wolle allege the lawes of nature, that men shall haue theyr beards, the thyng it selfe wolle repugne ageynst them: ye and also both wyse men and folles, as many as are now, or as euer haue bene. syns any man could remembre, can tel them, that Nature hath made women with smothe facis, and men rough and full of heere. And moze ouer it hath bene euer a monstuous thyng, to se a woman with a beard, though it were verpe lytell, as the Grekes stozyes betwen of the woman bysshoppe, whiche amongest the Pedasenses was chiefe ruler in the sacrifice of Minerva. Therfore who so euer, by any crafte or busynes, gothe aboute to make a man beardles, it may be leyde to his charge, that he hath done ageynst the lawes of Nature.

TO this they wolke make aunswere, that Nature hath made many thynges, whiche were but of smallle effecte, tyme after by mannes wyll they were broughte to a better pourpose, as the frutes of the erthe onely for meate, and water for drynke nature hath ordeyned: wherof mans wyll hath

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diuised to make both breadde and wyne, with many other delicates.

Also nature hath sette all places as a wilderness, full of sharpe thornes, bushes, and great trees, where soone after the inuentione wylles of men haue diuised to make gay gardens, goodly earable feldes, saye medowes and orchardes. And lyke as many thynges haue ben brought to a better order by the inuentions, by the perswasions, by the conynge, and by the experience of wyse men: euen so it was ordeyned, that bearded bulde be shaven to putte away the discommoditie.

But me thynketh, that those delicate lawyers myght well be lykened to the Sybarytans, the whiche in lyke maner destroyed all the cockes in theyr countrey, lest with theyr importunate crowing before day, they shuld be diseased in theyr sweete moorning slepes. But yet this gothe well, that the lawe of nature is on our syde, whiche they can nat deny: and yet they wylles are so forward, that styll they bringe forth suche tryfles agaynst it. Therfore they lette passe the lawe of nature, and flee to a lawe wyrtten for the commoditie of a fewe persones, in whose helpe they putte all theyr hope of victorie. But there be thre maner of lawes wyrtten.
The

The fyrste is the lawe of Moyses, durynge
 Into the comminge of Chyste: The seconde
 is that, whiche we haue taken to folowe by
 the exaumples of Chyste: or elles institute,
 by auctoritie of the appostels. The thyrde
 is the Decrees made by the power of the bi-
 shoppes and counsels.

But bycause we beganne with the lawe of
 Moyses, let vs fyrst se, whether Maunynge
 be commanded there or not. Verily if ye lyst
 to marke the maners of the hebrewes, ye
 shall rede in the history of kyngis, that cer-
 tayne messengers were sente from Dauid to
 kyng Hannon to comforte hym for the deeth
 of his father, the whiche messengers, this
 Barbarous kyng suspectynge, sente theym
 ageyne with theyr faces halfe shaven, in dis-
 pyte and scorne of theyr prince. wherfore
 Dauid commanded them to remayne in Je-
 rico, tyll their beardes were growen agayne,
 lest that fylthy spght shulde be shewed to the
 people. The whiche thyng he wolde not
 haue done, if Maunynge had ben used at that
 tyme: for then they might haue shaven the
 reste of theyr faces, and all had bene well.
 In lyke wise if we serche the lawes of them,
 we shall fynde Maunynge forbiddyn in ma-
 ny places.

Ther
 ner of
 wes
 ten.

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ui. 19. Also it is forbiddē in the Leviticall booke
to all people in generallē, and speciall̃ye to
the priestis it is a commaundement withoute
anye exception, that they shall not haue
theyr beardes.

saic. 7. Furthermoze amonge other miseries, whi-
che god thretnethe to the Moabitis, by the
wordes of the prophete Esaiē, well nere in
enery chapiter he saythe: Theyr beardes
shall be cutte away. Here ye maye see, howe
moche this token of a womannysh mynde
was hated amonge them.

sal. 132. It is not for nought, that the honourable
memozie of Aarons bearde is songen dayly
in our temples befoze the altars of god and
his sanctis: in so moche that the oyntment,
wherwith his bearde was annoynted, is had
in remembraunce.

More ouer the people of Nazareth, those
mooste holy menne, whiche were dedicate to
god, dydde lette growe theyr busshes and
beardes, in token of holynes: And for that
cause we rede, that sayncte Iohn Baptyste,
the messanger of Chryste, wolde neuer suf-
fre the beare of his heed nor bearde to
be cutte.

And by what argument moze playne, maye
we proue beardes to please God, than by
this,

this, that the fathers, when they could haue no chylterne, they made vowes to let theyr beardes growe. The whiche thyng if those fathers had thoughte vntthankfull to god, doubtles they wolde not haue hoped to opeyne any grace of hym by suche vowes.

They without doubt beinge warned of the offence, that perauenture certayne delicate felowes commytted by Shauynge of theyr beardes, dydde intende bothe to mende the erroure, and also to gette ageyne the fauoure of God, by the meanes of that vow.

Trewey ye shall synde amonge the Hebrewes, dyuers tymes beardes shauen, where any vsufferable payne, or gret wretchednes dyd happen to them, to the intent they myght betwe them selfe as men spoiled of all theyr welthe. A hole dape, ye a hole yere wolde not serue me, yf I wuld continue after this maner, to remembre all the places and exammples wrytten in those dapes, where beardes are commended: the whiche thyng seinge it is so playne, I thynke it not mete to consume any longer tyme in a mattier soo openly known. It appeareth in the olde lawe, that beardes were not forbiddyn, but ordeyned to be worne,

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and commaunded by God hym selfe, not to
be putte awaye.

1529
Nowe go to, let vs come to an other lawe,
whiche oure chzisten religion hath folowed,
1529. yere. This lawe is named by our di-
uines the lawe of grace, whiche we deuide
into the lawe of examples, & the lawe wzri-
ten by the inspiration of the holpe ghooste.
The lawe of examples is of so great aucto-
ritie, that that alone suffiseth, as it apperith
by the wordes of Chzist, whan he hym selfe
pzoferred to gyue exaumples to vs. Therfoze
we are euer wonte to putte Chziste afoze vs
foz an example. And by that argumēt Igna-
tius, the disciple of sayncte Iohn the Euan-
geliste, was moued ageynst the supersticions-
nes of certayne menne, whiche thought them
selfe the holper, bycause they absteyned euer
from fleshe. Chziste (sayth he) dydde eate
fleshe, Peter dyd eate fleshe, and those that
folowed after: wherfoze wuld we than vnder
the colour of holynes take awey the ca-
tynge therof. Chzist hath gyuen vs example,
that what so euer he hath done, we wulde do
the same, as farre as our power doth extēd.
And so we may playnly saye, that euery acte
of Chziste our auctour, is a lawe and forme
of our lyuynge. And this beynge graunted, I
wolde

wolde wytte of our accusers, whether they
 haue any commaundement, sayeng, or exam-
 ple of Chyiste, wherby he dothe eyther com-
 maund, or shewe, or at the leest weye agree,
 that mens beardes shuld be shauen. without
 doubte there is none founde of that maner.
 On the other parte the exaumple of Chyiste
 hym selfe, whiche is sayde euer to weare a
 bearde: and the maners of Peter & Paule,
 and all the appostels, may be iudged a suffi-
 cient defence for beardes. And there be cer-
 teyn men, whiche so descriue the face of Chyist
 by knowlege of their fore fathers, that they
 affirme, he had a longe and a yelow bearde:
 neyther he is none otherwyse peynted nor
 caruen of the grekes, the latines, nor none
 other nations, as it is openly knowen. Peter
 to whom chiesely was gynen by Chyiste the
 auctoritie of our chysten feythe, we picture
 hym in our temples euer with a bearde, both
 in brasse, in marbull, and with colours. Nor
 we se no man pictured with a greater bearde,
 than Paule, whiche was a maister of our li-
 uynge: to whose moste wyse instructions we
 are euer obedient. And yete, Thomas, and
 all the felowshyppe of them, are gloriously
 sette forth with great beardes.

To this they wold make answere, that it is

B 5

but

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But a lyght argument, to diuine by pictures, what maner of face Chyiste and his apostils had, seinge it hath euer ben graunted to poetis and peynters to seyne what they lyst. Well lette vs graunte to that, yet neuer the lesse ye can not denye, but it is the generall agreemente of all menne, that Chyiste hym selfe and his apostels, whiche are the chiefe auctours of our priestis, shalbe peynted & carren with beardes: by the whiche common consente it maye easily be perceyued, that a bearde hath some good proprietye pertyning to holynes, and doth bypnyge preysse to every holy man.

The gentyles used a custome, to shewe by the habyte of theyr goddis, what thynges they esteemed moste precious amongest them. And for this cause the Lacedemonians dydde not onely picture Mars lyke a manne of armes, but also for the moste parte all other goddis and goddessis: for bycause they esteemed nothyng moze precious than armour, thei thought it behoued the goddis to be garnished with armour.

The Phenices, whiche were only gyuen to marchandise, dydde appareple theyr goddis with pursis full of money: bycause they indged him most blessed, that had most money.

So

So in lyke maner bicause we thynk nothing more honorable thā a berd, we iuge it best to picture our god, & his disciples with beardis.

Verily we can nat proue, that euer sayncte Johā, the messenger of Chyste, was shaven, nor yet sayncte James, who amongest other good gyftes of a vertuous mynd was greatly preysed for this, that he wolde neuer suffer hym selfe to be shaven. And Shall we vnhappy people, blame in any man, or forbyd vnder payne of cursynge, that thynge, whiche was by the allowaunce of all people suffered in those holy men, taught by Chyist our sauour, and very sonne of god, and rekened amonge the markes of vertue, as an example of a perfecte and a moderate lyfe? But nowe of late, we haue not onely leste the name of good maners, but also the veri right patheway of the same.

Jamies, whiche opteyned his name by the continuall keepynge of Justyce, was moche preysed, bycause he neuer used shauynge nor annoyntynge, nother yet wasshynge in baynes, &c. And Shall we sclander them as puel peple, whiche despise shauing, & suche other fond delites? Thus if our lord god were a berd in token of manhod, if Peter, if Paule, & al the apostels byd the same, & finally if there be nother sayeng nor monition foude of the chiefe
antours

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auctours of our seyth ageynste beardes: for what cause then shulde we regarde the condempnyng of beardes by any lawe, or feare the thretynnges of any man, seing god is on oure syde, whose sonne we folowe in that habyte?

The fourth parte of our matter is, that we shall serche, whether this disanullynge of beards be commended or not in the thyrd kynde of wrytten lawes, whiche were made by the inspiration of the holy goste.

Of truthe the gides of our vertuous lyving, called holy men, haue ordeyned some constitutions, withoute any mencion made befoze of god or his disciples, or any example be-
wed, but onely styred by (as they sape) by that same godly inspiration, the whiche thynges nede nat here to be rehersed. Of this sorte are the decrees of the counsels, I mene those, whiche we are bounde to beleue. For I beleue this, that a generall counsell truly gathered, determyneth nothyng concerning our seyth, without the inspiration of the holy goste, and them we ought alway to allow and firmly beleue. But the lawe of maners and customes, varienge ofte tymes by the meanes of the place, tyme, or conditions of the persons, sauer moze humayn thā godly: yet

yet our accusers prepared of these weapons,
 taken out of olde Vulgar booke, and putte a-
 geynst our armie the counsell of Carthage,
 Under whose helpe and defence, they make
 warre ageynste beardes, despisyng theym,
 and thzetyng theyz utter destruction: like
 as though the dystroyng of that same beau-
 tyfull worke of nature, were done by the in-
 spiration of the holy gooste: and as though
 he, whiche in tyme paste dydde not without
 a cause Bewe hym selfe mercysfull to those,
 that made bowes to let their beardes grow,
 shulde now be ageynst hym selfe in the coun-
 selle of Carthage, and begynne to despyse
 beardes. The whiche thynges truely howe
 unwozshy they are to be counted the actis of
 god, the moste innocent chylde in the worlde
 may perceyue: yet those felcows are not a-
 shamed to make god the auctour of suche ab-
 iecte and fylthy busynesses. But though
 theyz feblenes of brayne ought to be forgy-
 uen, bycause they can not frame theyz wyt-
 tes to conceyue hygher thynges: yet it is
 wysedom to take hede, lest Under the colour
 of goodnes, they shulde deceyue other men.
 Therfore nowe lette vs here what law they
 allege for them, and that is this.

Clerici neq; comam nutriant, neq; barbā.

Clero

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Clerkes shall neyther lette grow theyr bas-
shes nor beardes. They sey, this lawe was
fyyste made by the counsell of Carthage, and
renewed by Alexander the thynde, & streng-
thed by many of later tyme: & that it ought
not to be despised of vs. As though we were
suche maner of people, that we wold inforce
some thyng ageynste the lawes: or els that
we dyd not vnderstande, if men shulde begyn
to despyse the lawes, that soone after euery
thyng wolde be brought out of frame: and
than shulde we see holy and unholy thynges
mixt to gether, nothing holy, nothing honest,
nor nothing laudably done. For whē the la-
wes are ones broken, the recourse of marchā-
dyse betwene citie & citie shalbe lost, the leege
of the people shall not be kepte, no good or-
der shall be regarded, no reason, no Justyce,
nor no ryghte shall remayne. It shoulde be
lesful than for euery man to leade his life af-
ter his owne luste: than shulde we see suche
trouble amonge all sortis of people, that we
shuld be constrained to hyde vs in the wod-
des, to crepe in to denues and deserte places
of the erthe, to be kepte safe from the inua-
sions of them that are of greater power.
Wherfore I thynk that a law made, allowed
of the reulers, and strengthened by the vse of
the

the people, ought to be kept of al men. What
shall we do therfore in this case? There is a
lawe layde ageynst all our resons, our mat-
ter is at a poynte, we are overcomen, we are
watered abrode, and put to flyght, the sectis
of delycate persons beare all the rule, & they
bynde vs to trifelynge maners. The sobre
and earnest facion of the Romaynes is decayd,
we must nowe waape wanton by a newe lawe,
we muste be shauen, there may no heer grow
on our facis, and to speke one worde for all,
ye and that a newe worde, we muste become
womanlyke. This is euen the very thyng,
that our accusers haue chosen onely for the
defence of their delycatenes. With this they
stryue ageynst vs, with this they wounde vs
euerychone, with this thyng alone, they
thynke to dystrope vs: So that except men
of holy orders haue smothe and shynnyng fa-
cis, they shall be pulled away from the au-
ters, they shall be putte out of the churches,
there shall be no place, where people resort,
lest free for them to abyde in. But we haue
to longe kepte silence.

Therfore nowe go to, lette vs brynge forth
oure armye agaynste theym, and fyrste of
alle, lette vs wynde awaye frome theym
that same ingyn that is the chiefe grounde
of our

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of our warre, & therby we shall ouerthrowe
all theyr holle power.

I denye it playnly, I say it is not made in
the counsaile of Carthage. For we may light
ly proue, that certayne yeres afoze tyme, for
lacke of a true copie, theyr booke were falsly
printed, and this worde radant, shauen a-
waye: whiche chaungeth the holle sentence,
for the mooste ancient, mooste holy, and most
wysest men do agree, that it is redde in Gra-
cian after this maner. Clerici neq; comam
nutriant, neq; barbam radant, Clerkes shall
nother lette growe their busshes, nor shauen
theyr beardes. There is no man can denye,
but these wordes are wyrtten of the counsel
of Carthage. It was happye, that this
same scoope of counsels was of late brought
to lyght: wherin without doubt the counsell
of Carthage dothe agree in this sentence,
with the olde wyrtten booke, whiche are in
the librarie of Palatine: and there of truthe
we fynde it wyrtten thus: Clericus nec co-
mam nutriat, nec barbam radat, A clerke
shall nother lette grow his bussh, nor shauen
his beard.

At this our ennemyes waye pale, therfore
let vs stycke to it lyke men we shall set vpon
them with an other wyng, whiche shall con-
streyne

freyne them to gyue ouer incontinent.

They allege these wordes folowynge, to be redde in a pistil of Alexander the thyrd, wrytten to the archbyschoppe of Canturbury. Clerici qui comam et barbam nutriunt, etiam inuiti a suis archidiaconis tondiantur, Clerkes that lette growe theyr busshes and beardes, Shall be shorne of theyr archedeacons, whether they wyl or not. But lyke as in the sentence befoze, some Vncleane Bauer hath shauen away a worde, so by lyke, here in this pistyll of Alexander, some Brayneles felowe hath added to a word. For by the agreement bothe of well lerned and approued auctours, it shulde be redde thus: Clerici qui comam nutriunt, ab archidiacono, etiam si noluerint tondiantur, Clerkes that let growe their busshes, Shall be shorne of their archedeacon, whether they wyl or not. And this appereth playnly to be the true redyng, bcause the interpreter saye, this sentence was taken out of a law, made in the counsell of Agathense. And therin without doubte it is so wrytten: Clerici qui comam nutriunt, ab archidiacono, etiam si noluerint, tondiantur. without any mention makynge of barba the bearde.

Also in the fourth counsell of Toletan, it
C was

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was commaunded, that the doctours and chiefe prelates shoulde haue all the vpper partis of their heedes, and to leaue on the nether parte a garland of beare aboute their eares: but as for the bearde they neuer thought thereon.

Also of the bushe onely, we fynde lyke commaundement in many placis, in the decrees of auncient byshops, to gether with other thynges concernynge the lyfe of priests: finally Anicetus by the preceptes of the apostels, decreed, that the clergie shuld not nouryshe theyr bushes: and surely he wold not haue passed ouer, without spekyng of the bearde, if he had esteemed it a thyng vn honest. For of truth to nouryshe the bushes is the facion of women, or els of suche men as lyue delicatly and vnchast. For the longe beared people were euer esteemed both of the grekes and Latines for a token of foule lust and fylthy lynyng. wherfore the lawes wplyng religious men not onely to be withoute vycis, but also to eschewe the occasyons of the same, doo not withoute a cause forbiddethem to nouryshe theyr bushes. But agayne on the other syde, hit besemethe menne to haue longe beardes, for chiefly by that token (as I haue often sayde) the
vigo

Vigorous strengthe of manhode is deterened
 from the tenderes of women: so that wo-
 men oughte to nouryshe theyr busshes, and
 men theyr beardes. And for this cause the
 priestis were commaunded by the determi-
 nation of the solemne counsell of Carthage,
 not to haue theyr beardes, to the intent that
 they myght seme (lyke as they be) men, and
 seme as it were a certayne maiestie of their
 owne kynde, in theyr vtter apperance.
 But ye folowe the Rodians, whiche had a
 lawe amonge theym ageynste Baupnge: and
 yet commonly they were all Baunen. Ye be-
 gynne also nowe to countrefeyte theym of
 Bysance, whose maners Chrysippus dydde
 mooste hate for that same cause. For they
 dydde not onely make lawes ageynste Ba-
 upnge of berdes, but also orderyned extreme
 punysshementes for the same, and yet the
 mooste parte of them, lyke as ye doo, loured
 to be Baunen.

Thus maye ye see, that in manye places,
 the frowwardenes of yuelle people, dystrope
 manye tymes the good maners. And lette
 no manne marueyle, thowghe false and
 corruptly wyrtten bookes haue done moche
 harme by the space of so many yeres paste,
 soo that by the meanes of that erreure,

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many decrees, punishmentis of the proude and stubborne, and cruell chastisings haue bene brought vpp. O good lord, how many thynges shall ye fynde in all olde booke here and there moste fantisly redde? Howe many wordes chaunged? Howe many cleane leste out? Howe many stryken out? And I wolde to god, that there were sewer at this dape, whiche of theyr iniquitie doo peruerse many thynges.

But beholde I beseeche you, what harmes ryse by reason of depzaued booke. The sentence of Gelasius the pope, in the xv. distinction, in our spirituall lawe is thus: Venerabilis uiri Sedulij Pascale opus, quod heroicis descripsit uersibus, insigni laude proferendum, The pascall worke (sayth he) of that honourable man Sedulius, whiche he wrote in heroicall versis, is greattely to be praysed: And yet hitherto ye shall fynd written in booke, that go commonly abrode, in the place of Heroicis uersibus, hereticis uersibus, whiche turneth the sentence after this maner: The pascall worke of that honourable man Sedulius, whiche he wrote in erroneous or hereticall versis, is greattely to be praysed. This one false worde brought such a suspicion to certayne men, which were true

true pfeſſers of the lawes, that they thought
 all poetis verſis were erronious : and that
 they were nat worthe to be accompted a-
 monge good men, though they intreated of
 holy matters : whiche thyng we ſawe was
 alſo after ſuche a maner perſwaded to the
 pope Adrian the. vi. that he hated no kynde
 of peple worſe then poetes, thynkyng that no
 thyng that they dyd, was wel done. And yet
 to this day there be ſome diſcrete prelates ſo
 diſceyued with this falſe redyng, and with
 that other errour of ſpauing, that they thinke
 no man worthe to be a prieſt, that eyther
 maketh verſis, or weareth a bearde : ſuche
 a thyng it is ones to taſte an yuell opinion.
 But we ſhall lette paſſe to byng in any mo
 exaumples, ſeing we ſee dayly howe olde
 auctours haue ben corrupted by the meanes
 of falſe wyters. Noz I wolke not reherſe
 howe yngentilly the olde lawyers were in-
 trected, by our lawyers that cam after them.
 For after theyr markes were ones cutte in
 pieces by Tribunianus, and ſuch other bou-
 chers, thei did not kepe theſe peces to gether,
 but ſuffred welnere euery vnlearned man to
 adde and minyſhe at his pleaſure : and yet
 the ſame ſcrappis euyl and falſely recited,
 be taken for lawes, and they lack not a gret

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forte of defenders.

Thus many thynges are dayly brought to lyght, whiche gyue vs warnynge of the errors of our forefathers, wherein they haue bene ouersene this many yeres, or deceyued by the falsenes of booke. wherfore it is the lesse meruayle, if the decree of the counsell of Carthage, be founde nowe otherwys wyrtten, than it was put forth in tyme past.

Well go to, we haue sette here a sure foundation for oure defence: A lawe is recyted, whiche we haue playnely proued no lawe. Noether berdes ar not forbydden by the law of exaumples. It is also proued, that it becometh euery good and honest man to weare a bearde. Neuerthelesse they bringe forth the one reason to make them seme Romaynes, and yet they intende to folowe the delicate maners of the Sicilians. Many of them suppose, that beardis were disanulled by the popes of Rome, bycause the Grekes vsed to weare them: For they sey it is not lesul for a priest of the Romaynes to folowe theym in habyte & maners, that haue forsaken the church of Rome. Therfore we muste haue our berdes, except we wol be heretikes or rebellis. To this what other answer shall I make, but that our accusers be perauenture good

good men (I wol not call them inuiours, Sp-
landyshe, nor vnlearned) But may happe more
simple than good men shuld be: which thinke
that bearded shuld be despised of the Ro-
maynes, and that the people be accursed that
weareth them, and also they thynke, where
so ener they be, they make the place inhospite
and voyde of all good lucke, bycause the
grekes wol not obey to theyr constitutions,
I maynaye from whence they gatte these o-
pinions, which howe foolyshe and howe
chyldeyshe they be, euery manne perceyuethe.
For if they wol affirm it to be done bycause
of the grekes: I beseeche you lette them tell
me to what Italian it hath doone good, or
what hath the pope gotten by it, when the
same discorde hath ben the cause of so many
euyls, which yett abhorrerth any man to re-
membere.

I wolde to God oure forefathers hadde
not benne so wolfulle and fulle of stryfe,
somme beyng to extreme in keepynge of cer-
taine ceremonies and lawes, which were
but of smalle effecte, somme in makynge
of newe, somme in breakynge and chaun-
gynge of olde customes and maners, the
whiche hadde benne kepte manye yeres.

(I speake onely of customes, bycause those

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thynges that pertyne to the septe, are of
an other kynde) but yf such busynes had not
bene, we hadde not losse so manye soztis of
people, noz so many realmes. The greekes
had not forsaken vs, we hadde kepte styll
the Ile of Aegei, we had not losse Thracia,
we had nat losse the realme of Byzance, we
had nat lost all Asia, nother Hierusalem had
nat ben inhabyted with infidels, so greattely
to oure dishonour, ye and to speake of later
tyme, for such causes Boeme and Germanie
shulde not haue sette so lpght by the pope.
For in gouernynge many tymes some inciden
tis happen, whiche are of so smalle weyght,
that they maye be easily epyther graunted oz
els suffered: the whiche thynges if they be
stubboznelly denied, they cause indignation
amonge the vnserued people: And soone af
ter indignation cometh chauffynge and mur
mourynge, after chauffynge daily increasynge of
malice, & shortly after malice cruel enmities,
and than mortall warre. Whan our foresa
thers commaunded the Romaine priestis, to
haue theyr beards, in dispite of the greekes,
to the intent there myght be a difference be
twene the Romaines and them: they caused
the Grekes to be so vexed with that same dis
sention, that they bare euen as greate & lyke
malice

malice ageynste vs than, as they dydde atte
the tyme, whan they haupng warre amonge
them selfe, were of so mischeuous a mynde,
that they hadde leuer make a leage with the
Turkes, and seke the felowshyppe of them,
than to aske helpe of vs, or receyue our aide,
whan it was wyllyngly offred. And so they
were deceyued, and by the fals fayth of their
ennemies betrayed, and vtterly destroyed.

They losse theyr kyngdome, theyr countrey
was spoyled, theyr aulters were robbed,
made unholy, and leste desolate: and by and
by we were broughte in the same peryll by
the meanes of theyr chaunce. To the which
people if that thyng had bene granted, that
was of none effect, the name of chystendom
had ben spredde abrode bothe far and wide:
neyther that same coote of our lord, that had
no seame, had bene rent in so many peces as
we se it nowe adayes.

But what nede we to make mention of o-
ther mens damages and fautis, whanne we
may se, as touchyng berdes, suche variances
at home at our doores, that it hath broughte
by a perpetuall schlander to the hygh order
of preefthode. In continuance of tyme the de-
lites of our foresathers came so farre forth,
that by the meanes of haupnge, the people

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was so disguised, that men and women were
scant knowen a sonder: And by this it hap-
pened (if the tale be trewe that is in enerye
mans mouth) that a woman was chose pope
of Rome, to the perpetuall rebuke of that
same holy order. In remembrance of whiche
dede, the Romaynes to this daye shewe
the place, poyntyng with a spnger, where
that same high woman priestess, beinge in the
popes stede, dyd traunayle of a chylde. And
leeeste suche an other channce myght happen,
many men beleue, that ever after it was or-
dained by a lawe, that the same folke of oure
forefathers shulde be openly declared at the
stallyng of every newe pope. For at the Pul-
pit of saynt Iohn, where is gethered to ge-
ther on that solemne feast day, a great mul-
titude of people, of all maner of nations:
the newe Pope is there constreyned, in the
syght of them all, to proue hym selfe a man
by many sufficient wytnesses. And whan the
thyng is ones pronounced by the voyce of the
crier, by and by it is shewed aboute in every
place: and than we beleue surely, we haue a
lawfull man to our pope, when it myghte be
enidently knowen, we had him that we ought
to haue, without any such woderment. These
I say be the thynges, whiche haue comen vp
in

in tyme past by the smothnes and delicates
of Shapynge, where on the other part it was
never founde, that any suche inconuenience
came by the meanes of beardes. If the ma-
ners of priestis are to be corrected or looked
nere vpon, it is beste to take hede, that they,
whiche are chosen to that honeste dignitie to
be ministers to god almighty, shulde not be
despyled with vile occupations or offices. Let
them kepe no Vittaplynge houses, let them
be no maryners, lette them weare no longe
daggers, or suche other weapones, let them
weare none armour nor pied garmentis, let
theym not falle to quastynge or to dzonken-
nes, finally let them forbear al suche thin-
ges, whiche do shewe lychtnes, folyshenes,
or vnclenlynes. Truly if our accusers had
taken hede to these thynges, they hadde not
ben so lyttell regarded of euery man as they
be. But when they deuise with so great dili-
gence to condemne their berdes whiche doth
increce their dignite, they do not only deserue
to be dyspreised, but also they brynge them-
selve in to schlauder of waywardenesse and
superstition. I speake this for no malice,
but hit greuethe me to see somme menne,
verye excellent otherwayes bothe in ler-
nyng and perfectnesse of lypynge (excepte

J

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I shulde helpe them, whiche beinge deceyuid
by some fooles, what so euer they be, Under
the colour of goodnes, fal into suche conten
tion, and be so earnest for so lyght causes, ye
(yf I myght speake it) verp foolyshe trifles,
and when there be many hygher matters to
be loked vpon, to exercepse theyr studie, and
to labour to put downe berdes, which hurte
nother god nor manne: nor yet there is anye
cause why they shulde go aboute to defende
their oppinion by certayne newe prouinciall
lawes, the whiche though they were neuer
so firmly strenghted by man, yet althoughe
the pope agreed to the hym selfe, yet if there
be founde a truer reason, they be bothe bro
ken, corrected, and changed. For the lawes,
the decrees, and institutions, for cause made,
as the nede of matters requireth, and as the
tyme asketh, the pope by the counsaile of his
bretherne, and of his hygh power, dothe
daily correcte, fordo, ordeyne, and stablyshe:
and these thynges that they agree vpon, or
he alone, be taken for lawes. And it is moste
firmely prouided by precepte of the hygh ru
ler of the lawes, that euery lasse lawe shal
wypp away the synne.

But what more euident or more holy lawe
shall we seeke, for the wearynge of beardes,
than

than that same, whiche the byghe byshoppe
 Julius the seconde, and Clement the. vii. did
 bew in theyr tyme, by theyr owne examples
 apuyng? It pleased Julius longe tyme to
 weare a bearde, It pleased Clement also to
 weare a bearde, It pleased the holy college
 of Cardinales to doo the same, It pleased
 both the other prelates and pooze priestis in
 lyke wyse: And Shall we tarie to loke out an
 other counsaile, when in dede there is none
 suche at all? Dz Shall we denyse to renewe
 weake lawes, oz those that be nowe woꝛne
 out: when this same liuely lawe is to this
 daye euery where in strengthe, euery where
 obserued, louyngely receyued, and putte in
 vse in euery place, for a lawe made and
 approued?

Amonge the Venetians, the Pisans, the
 Brutians, the Calabers, the Sicilians, a
 monge them of Champayne, amonge the Ro
 mayns, the Etruscians, and many other peo
 ple of Italie, where as eche citie is instituted
 with right laudable lawes and moste honest
 maners, it is esteemed and taken for a verye
 greatte offence, to kysse an other mans wyfe
 oz his donghter. And yet in the chiefe parte
 of the same region, and betwene the foun
 tayne of Pady and Dozia, and from thense
 by

De sacerdotum

By all the mountaynes of Allobzoges, and in euery citie, that is moſte populouſly inhabited with frenche menne, and Villages betwene Pyzen and Keynes, from the eaſte parties to the greatte ocean ſee, the ſame licence of kyſſynge is ſo moche ſuffred, that whan ſo euer thou ſhalte come to the howſe of thyn ooſte, or of thy frende, excepte thou ſpyſt of all kyſſe his wyſe, his daughters, and al other women in the howſe, and beclyp theym in thynne armes, thou ſhalte be iudged churlyſſhe, or proude, or els to be theyr ennemie. And ſo that, that among vs here is thought to be a ſhamfulle thyng, is taken amonge them for a great gentylneſſe and a familiaritie. Of ſuche weight is the cuſtome and maners of people of longe tyme vſed. Alſo in ſome cities and countreyes, ſome thynges not ſo honeſte, are yet by reaſon of cuſtome and vſe, and longe and ſure conſente of the people, growen into a lawe. And thynke ye than to take away this ſame venerable manner, of grauitie and ſadnes, that hath bene receyued and allowed both by the examples of the high biſhoppes, and alſo by the imitation of al the people? Neyther ye remember not the ſayenge of the moſt wiſe prince, bringe daylye proued afore your eyes: Eos qui

qui aliter uiuere uolunt, quàm se habeant
 mores eorum, inter quos uiuunt, suspicio-
 sos, aut intemperantes haberi, They that
 lyue after an other sorte, then the custome is
 of the people and countrey, where they
 dwelle, are taken for suspicious and vnruely
 persones. And if ye thynke it best to stycke
 to one lawe, what so euer it be, whether it be
 weake, corrupte, or of small effecte: doo ye
 not see the mooste sadde sentences of men a-
 geynste you, whiche haue the high auctoritie
 bothe to interprete and to make the lawes?
 For they, whiche by their high power haue
 made lawes to all the worlde, what lawes
 they haue made of priestis beardes, it appe-
 reth moze playnely by theym selfe, thanne
 though they hadde grauen it in a table of
 brasse. But admytte it be an offence: graunt
 also (though it appere not) that Alexander
 the thyrd, was of the same mynde, as prin-
 ted bookes do shewe. Moze ouer, graunte it
 to be esteemed a lothly dede: and that a priest
 with a bearde ought nat to meddell with mi-
 nistration of the holy sacramentis, nor be in
 cōpany among mē: but (after your iugemēt)
 to be exiled or kept in perpetuall prison. Wel
 go to, let your oratours begyn to accuse vs,
 let them do theyr vttermoste, lette them lay
 to our charges what so euer they can befoze
 the

De sacerdotum

the iudges, let them make vs to forsaie our
goodes, and lyke as rebels & murderers ar
wonte to be handled, let them mynde to in-
treate vs. But where? where shal the iud-
ges be? Besoze whom shal they plede their
cause? who shal acknowledge this to be an
offence? who shal condempne vs? I wolke
haue them go to those that be moste sadde &
best aduised, and vnto them, to whose senten-
ces and determinations not onely al the com-
mon people, but also men of gret reputation
and might wyl stande. This is the iugement
of the twelue men, whiche are ordeyned to
sytt in the Bisshops palaice, to gyue sentence
vpon matters in debate: Of the whiche ma-
ner there were some tyme certayne menne a-
monge the Grekes (when they flourysshed)
calied Amphictyones, whiche concerninge
the lawes, did make answer to al maner of
people. And these (I seye) be the iudges,
whiche we had nede to haue to make an ende
of our matter. Therfoze beholde vs here re-
dy at hande, we neither rebelle ageynst you,
noz we are not about to flee, we be contente
to abyde the iudgement, ye shal not nede to
attache vs, and kepe vs in holde. Begyn ye
nowe to call for iugement. Beholde here as
foze your eies a holle college of chosen men,
of

of good lyfe, and well skylled in the lawes.
 wher vppon do ye tarie? for what cause are
 ye so abashed? We thynketh your answers
 be very farre to seke. Where is nowe the be-
 gynnynge of your accusation? that horrible
 wounder, that priestes shuld weare beardis,
 whiche ye saye is a newe crime, that was ne-
 uer harde of before this tyme? Verily ye
 make nowe perceyue youre owne folpe, and
 what tryfils ye haue gathered to gether a-
 monge the thornes. For ye can fynde no in-
 dges, but they gyue sentence ageynst you be-
 fore ye begynne to speake, excepte your sel-
 fes wolde be bothe indges and accusers.
 Do ye not see, if ye stryue ageynst beardes,
 there be so many good men that weare bea-
 des, that your busynes shall be laughed to
 scozne with euery man? Neither there is any
 cause why, that you being but thre in nombre
 or foure at the moste, shulde thynke to haue
 the true knowlege. This is your wyl, & not
 your ingement: & where as al men thoughte
 before, that it was but an errour in you for
 lacke of knowlege, nowe seinge ye stycke styl
 in your opinion, the truth apperyng so pleyn
 afore your face, euery man maye knowe, ye
 do it not of ignozance, but of a very proude
 and obstinate mynde, lest your euyl meninge

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shulde

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Shoulde be perceyued. Styrnte ye therfore nowe to make any further busynesse, and those maners of men, whiche ye se are mete to be vsed, allowe ye them also, or els if you be so tender and delycate, that ye can not abyde to be sene lyke men, yet be contente at the leesse waye, that other men vse them selfe as they shoulde do.

Thus yf ye intende to determyne youre matter, by the lawes, ye see to what passe it wyll come. If ye grounde you vpon honestie, ye can fynde no suche honestie in smotheryng of a mans face. If ye wolke speake of custome and maners: the same custome to weare a bearde is so vsed with princis and chiefe reulers, that nowe it maye be taken for a lawe.

Behold I beseeche you the ancient doctours of our Senate howse, whiche are men so excellent in all mener sciences, whiche are not wonte to do any thyng out of good order: ye se them weare beardes, which thyng they wolde not do, excepte they thought it mete for a priest, & for euer honest man. In conclusion amonge all these excellent men, thou shalt fynde very fewe without beardes. And those fewe, if thou woldest demaund for what cause they were no beardes, they will
make

make many other excuses, rather the sei, it is
 Unsemele for a mā of holy orders, not doub-
 tyng to pzeferre the truth befoze their own
 maners. What shuld I here reherce any mo
 exāples of other holy men, as archbysbops
 and bysboppes, that haue woꝛne beaꝛdes,
 whiche wolde not haue woꝛne them, excepte
 they had knowen very wel, it was not repug-
 nant to the lawes of Chꝛist? & What any man
 be so bolde to recite other lawes befoze their
 exāples? when it is openly knowen, that
 they wold not vse a thyng, which was not a
 patron of perfecte religion and honest ma-
 ners. We thynketh our accusers shuld now
 waꝛe weꝛy, to iuge that thing puel, which by
 the consent of al good men is allowed to be
 bothe semele and laudable. Furthermore
 where they recyte a lawe for theyꝛ parte, it
 appereth there is no suche: but (as I haue
 sayde) by false wytyng, that taken for a
 lawe, that neuer was so ordeyned: if it were
 let theym vnderstande, that by the exāples
 of the two bygh bysbops, Julius & Clement,
 it is clene abzogate & adnulled. If any man
 wol sey, that they myght not bꝛeke it, than let
 him deny al the lawes made by them. What
 What I sey to these felowes, which wol beleue
 nothyng but theyꝛ owne fantasies, to theym

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there is nothyng harde within an oþwe, noz without a nutte. For yf there be any auctoritie gyuen to pzincis and to general counseiles, pziestis ought to weare beardes.

Moze ouer if they had not iudged it semely for a religious man, they wold neuer haue comanded that pziestes shuld be vnshauen, noz they wolde neuer haue suffered theyz owne facis to be pictured with beardes.

The picture of Julius is made with a berde in the syght of all men. The face of Clemēt is dayly copned with a bearde bothe in gold and syluer. But those men (whiche so cruelly vexe vs) whan they condempne beardes, they vnderstonde not, that they blame the hyghe byshoppe, pzelates, and other sadde men, and that they mocke the constitutions of holy men: they damne Peter and Paule, and all the apostels, yf and they sey immodestie to Chyiste hym selfe. There is no man moze vniuste then he, whiche thynketh nothyng welke doone, but that that he dothe hym selfe.

But for what intent do they make all this busynes? For what cause go they so busily about to moue and put away all berded men from minstryng of the sacramentis, from the churche, & from all mens companyes? I
can

can not diuise what they shoulde meane; excepte they wolde haue seynt Iohn Baptyste, seynt Jamis, and seynt Jerom, with many other banished out of heuen. For it apperith by our aduersaries iudgemente, that those were frowarde persons, rebels, and corrupters of good maners. For what other thing by theyr interpretation, maketh they hym, that weareth a bearde, but a proude and an yuell man, that lyueth not after the lawes? and he is wycked, that deserueth to be banished out of the church of Christe. Whiche howe myserable and vnhappy were all these holy men before named, to chuse a lyfe so peynfull and laborous, as to forsake all the pleasures of this worlde, and to liue in wilderness, to make theyr bodies leane with fastynge, watchynge, and prayenge: if they shoulde onely for theyr beardes be indged before god for yuell lyuers. Who doubteth, if they, whiche now weare beardes, shall be indged for yuell lyuers, but that those holy men before sayde, and other that haue ben auctours of that facion, shall be lyke wise accused of our aduersaries.

If we demaunde of our accusers, what affection they haue to be made so smoth: without doubt they wyll answer and sepe, it is

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done bycause the heares shuld not be dypped
in the mooste holpe bloudde of Chyste: And
they sey, and it is very trouth, that al honoz
and reuerence ought to be done to this mooste
blessed sacrament. But I beseeche you than,
is there any thyng the lesse reuerence done
to this mooste hygh sacrament, if the minister
bewe hym selfe (as Alexis sayth) moze like
a man than a woman? For Alexis saythe,
that God is nat offended with heares, the
whiche serue to expresse the perfecte state of
man. I beseeche you, be heares so fylthy, and
so greatlye to be despised, that they are nat
wozthy to come nere the blessed sacrament?
But foule nayles, scabby spngers, a fylthy
face, with all the reste of the bodye besyde
may do it none vnreuerence: & thynke those
men then, that a bearde is so fylthy a thinge,
and so hateful to god, that it may in no ma-
ner wylcome nere the blessed sacrament?
And yet for all this, the selfe same thyng,
the whiche they commaunde so holily to be
done, they doo hit not theym selves. For
whiche of all these holy menne (I wolle not
calke them dissemblers) shall you fynde, that
is shauen euery day, as the priestes of Egypt
be? And excepte they do shauē their berdes
euery day, or els ones for al, plucke out the
heares

beares by the rootes, they are not able to
 persourne theyr sapenge. For within a daye
 after, or two at the moste, when they mini-
 stre ageyne, they contaminate the blessed sa-
 crament with beares, and comytt the same
 offence, for whiche they accused them that
 weare bearded. They wold say, that the un-
 cleannes of the beares, that haue growen but
 a day or a weeke is not lyke to that that hath
 growen a moneth, a yere, or longer tyme:
 as who wolde saye, it were none offence for
 a man to breake the fastynge day with a calfe
 of a weeke or a moneth olde, but he that shuld
 eate a great oxe dyd greuously offende. And
 so our moste discrete accusers wold sepe, that
 the moste blessed sacramente is not offended
 with a beere of one day or a weekis growing,
 but he that toucheth it with a longe beare,
 that hath growen a moneth, or a holle yere,
 doth vnreuerently vse it. Trewely this sen-
 tence is of so smalle effecte, and so vntreue,
 that it is not worthye to be taried any lon-
 ger tyme.

Therefore lette vs passe ouer this, and we
 that be menne, lette vs kepe with al diligēce,
 the same sobre and honeste custome of bea-
 ded, seing it can be proued by no reason, why
 a bearde shuld be dispised.

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On the other parte smotherynge and Hauing
(as I haue sayde alwayes) whether it hap-
pen to a man by nature, or by handy craft, it
dothe shewe an outward apparence of synne,
and wyckednes, or els of other thinges, whi-
che are not worthy to be pseyded.

Yet bycause they wolde haue somewhat
more to babble vppon, they sey, it besemeth
not a prieste to professe by his habyte, a so-
rowfull, or a heuy mynde. Beholde these va-
lyant defenders of our christen religion. Be-
holde the grauitie and wysedome of those,
whiche wolde take vppon them to be other
mennes gydes, they wolde haue priestis to
shewe in their outwarde semblance none o-
ther thyng but myght and lyghtenes, as it
were a scoffer (ye if I mought sey the truth)
euen lyke a bandy iester. Well let vs graunt
to that. Admytte that a berde is a token of
sorrow & heynnes: meane ye than, that priestis
shoulde nether mourne, nor be troubled in
theyr myndes, nor yet lyue after their owne
pleasure? O stony hartis, O cruel myndes,
of the whiche sorte there was neuer none
harde of befoze. Dughe not priestes moste
of all to mourne in this myserable worlde,
when there is no man that hath any cause to
laughe? We are constreyned by Nature to
mourne

mourne for the losse of euerpe dere beloued
 thyng. There is no man except he be madde,
 that wold forbidd the mother to mourne at
 the buryenge of her chylde. And wold these
 delycate felowes of the court of Rome, lette
 and forbidd vs to wepe and wayle in oure
 owne funerals: wold they forbidd vs to
 mourne and make sorowe, to beholde howe
 all Italie is ouerronne and destroyed, to see
 the noble citie of Rome subdued, spoyled, and
 robbed, and the inhabitantis therof murdred
 and slayne, to see the great vexation of all
 chrystendome, and in the drede and feare of so
 manyfolde great peryles, and finally in be-
 holdynge the confusion of the holle worlde,
 wold they warne vs to be heuy and sorowful?
 And as moche of Italy as remaineth, lyeth
 reked vp in the ashes of her burnyng: and no
 parte therof is moze consumed by fire, than
 that that longed to priestis. Under the ashes
 lyen the hotte glowyng cooles, whiche seme
 to kendell vp a farre greater fyre (ere it be
 ought longe) than is passed. And is it not le-
 full for vs, at leest wyse to be in a mourning
 chiere, and with a heuy countenaunce to wit-
 nes our great drede, and myserable fortune?
 And we beinge forsaken of so many chrysten
 princis, and mooste unwoorthyly reputed, by

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Whose counseyle and sufferaunce, we were
caste out as a common praye, and all taken,
as many as were at Rome, and spoyled of
all our goodes that we hadde, and are beg-
garde with intollerable tributis, and we
suffre and endure great crueltie, iniurie, and
manysolde miseries, and we be not yet lyke
to see an ende of these great calamities: for
not onely our foes, but also our frendes do
dayly catche from vs what so euer they can,
and they spare nat so moche as perteyne to
the houses of religion. And yet our accusers
in this unlucky and moste myserable tyme, in
so great darkenes of the common weale, in
so great perturbation of all thynges, goo a-
bout to forbydde vs, with feare of con-
spynge, that we in no wyse shulde lament our
Unluckyness of mooste wretched chaunce.

All the worlde gapethe to deuoure Italye:
They haue sucked it as nere as they can, and
those scrappes that remayne, they intende to
swype cleane awaye.

And these, our ydell accusers take thought
for nothyng, but gyue theym selves onely
to slouth, and they prepare to lyue in de-
lyte and ease, in luste and in lykynge, and
goo aboute to haue and to make smothe
theyr facis, lyke as thowghe thereby they
shuld

Shulde greattely helpe and succour the com-
mon welthe of chrystendome, whiche is now
in greatte ieoperdye and ruyne. And they
thynke they haue sufficientely prouyded for
vs, if they can perswade vs to forsake oure
mannely state, and to become our selves lyke
women. But I wolle bydde them fare well,
and as men vnwoorthy of honest companye,
to be sent away somewhyther, where they
may remayne vnknewen, and lye and inioye
theyr sonde appetite. We wolke iudge them
woorthy of none other punysshement, nor we
wolke neyther enuye theyr quietnes, nor yet
hate them, for that they be so desyrate to
them selfe, in case that they dare not, nor be
not able, to hurte or hynder the maners of
menne, that haue bene welke and discretely
ordeyned.

But wherto shulde I stryue or reason any
further with you agaynst the smothernes of
shauynge, seinge it hath ben proued to you
bothe by the institutions and holy preceptis
of oure forefathers in olde tyme, that we
ought to let our beardes growe, to thintent
we maye folowe the exaumples of Chryste
and his disciples, and of so many other fathers
that ledde a perfecte good lyfe, and to the
intente we moughte eschewe and aduoyde
the

De sacerdotum

the occasions of reproche and schlaunder, and to flee the suspicion and detraction of delectation, and laste of all to the intent we mought be inged rather men than women? For what cause shulde we be ashamed of our beardes, if it be well shewed, what a bearde is, and howe well it becometh a sadde and an honest mā. If it be wel proued, how gretly a berd increaseth the dignitie of a priest? Why shuld we be ashamed of a bearde, if we synde that by the lawe of nature, it is necessary, and by the lawe wyrtten, acceptable to god, and by the lawe of grace it is no where discommended. If the errour of them be ouercome, that holde the contrary opinion: If also the opinion, that the blessed sacrament shuld be polluted with heres, be wyped away, and that it is well proued, that a bearde doth none offence to the reuerence of that moste high diuine misterie: If the high princis of our christen religion haue made a lawe ageynste Shauynge, whiche as appereth by their own examples they wolde we shuld folowe: If vpon the same lawe there hath folowed not a secrete, nor a darke, but an open and a common consente of the people, ye and welnere of all maner of nations, whiche enery where are sene to stande styffely in that oppinion: wher

wherefore then, I beseeche you, shuld not we
 stycke and leane to reason rather then to abu-
 sion: and rather folowe the examples of so
 many vertuous and noble men, than cleave
 to the opiniõ of a few superstitious persons?
 If the iudgement of this matter were com-
 mytted to me, I wolde gyue a perpetuall
 sentence, that from henceforth no man be-
 ynge professed into holy orders, shulde shave
 his bearde, accordynge to the vse of those
 holy fathers: whiche knowynge it a thank-
 full thyng to god, made such vowes, when
 they intended moste to be reconciled agayne
 to hym. Or elles I feare me, we shall ones
 agayne prouoke the yre of god agaynst vs,
 who beinge displeased with suche feminine
 delicatenes (as shauynge and smotherynge of
 our skynnes, and makynge softe our lippes,
 and perfumynge, and suche other) we maye
 very well beleue, he dydde sende al kyndes
 of mischese into the towne of Rome, whiche
 yet hitherto we fele: And therfore he com-
 maunded our goodes to be taken frome vs,
 and our sumptuous houses to be eyther ouer-
 throwen or els burned, and many other de-
 lytes of our wanton myndes to be plucked
 away from vs.

But when he shall se vs retourne to a bet-
 ter

De sacerdotum

ter mynde, and that we cal to remembrance,
that we be me, and entred into holy orders,
and that we wol chastise our lust & lyking, &
set naught by delectations and pleasures of
this worlde, and clene forsake our softe and
feminate affections, & wytnes by our berdis,
that we intende to leade a more constant and
manly lyfe: without doute he wol mitigate
his displeasure, and begyn to turne these bit
ter and cruell chastisinges into a more easpe
and more gentyl punysshment, and at the last
graunt vs an ende of our calamities and mis
eries, that haue so longe continued. But in
case we wol begyn to vse ageyne our olde fa
cion of delicate and synfull liuing, I am soze
asferde, lest that he being more angry, & more
displeased towarde vs, than euer he was be
fore, woll sende so harpe punysshment a
monge vs, that it wyll lyttell auayle vs, to
pray him of pitie: and that he wol withdrow
aweye from vs his grace, and suffre vs to
slyde into all calamities, and so, (whiche al
myghty god defende) the vniuersall furpe of
al the worlde, beinge stered vp to crueltie, he
shal turne into our mischese, so that in cōclu
tion, what by the menes of our wicked liuing
and the vngentyl dealing of the people, we
shal be vtterly destroyed.

FINIS.

LONDINI IN AEDIBVS
THO. BERTHELETI.
M.D.XXXIII.
CVM PRIVILEGIO.

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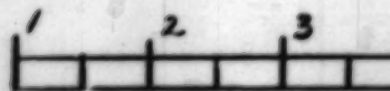
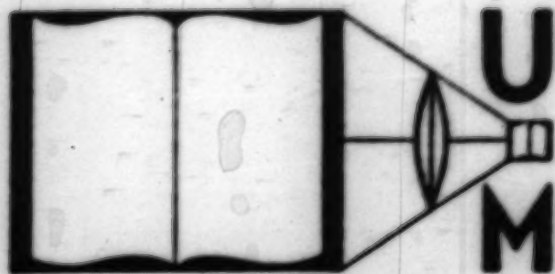
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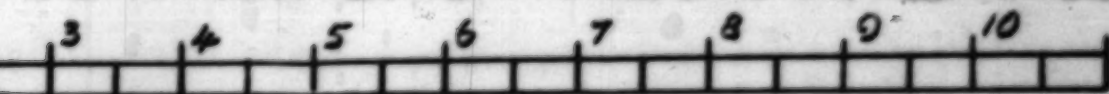
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